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XIII.—THE *ENUEG*.

Among the many forms of poetic composition cultivated by the troubadours of Provence during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of the most distinctive is that listed in the *Leys d'Amors*¹ under the name *enuieg*. This word, a Provençal form of the Latin *inodium*, means literally 'vexation,' or 'that which is vexing;' and technically it designates a poem which treats the annoyances of life from mere trifles to serious insults, from improprieties at the table to serious misdemeanors. This kind of poem, differing essentially in subject matter from the conventional erotic poetry of the time, belongs rather to that class known as *sirventés*; poetry which treats public or private affairs with either praise or censure. Like many of the *sirventés*, the *enuieg* has now and then a didactic purpose; but in most cases the poet voices his own likes or dislikes without any ulterior motive.

The most striking feature of the *enuieg* is the great lack, or one might almost say the entire absence, of continuity of thought; for each line or group of lines is absolutely without relation to those which precede or follow. The only link is the poet's dislike which is applied indiscriminately. This disjointed style often produces the effect of a series of proverbs, and some of the phrases were doubtless proverbial in origin. In outward form, *i. e.*, in the rhyme scheme and structure of stanzas, the *enuieg* presents only one especial characteristic: the repetition at regular or irregular but frequent intervals of a word or

¹ *Monumens de la Litt. Romane*: Gatién-Arnould, Paris, 1824, Vol. I, p. 348.

phrase which indicates the attitude of the poet. This is usually some form of the word *enueg*, but it may be a different word of similar meaning. It may take the form of a noun or verb or other part of speech, and it may be alone, or in a phrase. It is this repetition which distinguishes the *enueg* from all other poems which treat scornfully or satirically of the circumstances and conditions of life. We may then define an *enueg* as a metrical composition marked by two chief characteristics: (a) the enumeration in epigrammatic style of a series of vexatious things; (b) the repetition of a phrase which indicates the attitude of the poet. This phrase often, though not always, contains some form of the word *enueg*.

It is surely not mere chance that the best Provençal examples of the *enueg* should be from the works of a poet who gained his reputation and his wealth by his satire and cynicism. The Monk of Montaudon,¹ for thus he is always called, was attached to the abbey of Orlac in the last part of the twelfth century. His religious duties, however, did not interfere with his cultivation of poetry. If we may believe the Provençal biographer, he would make *sirventés* and *coblas* in his monastery, and then travel through the country, honored by knights and barons, who gave him all he asked. On his return he would present these gifts to the priory of Montaudon, which naturally did not oppose his minstrelsy. In his journeys he may have travelled no more than many other troubadours, yet he seems to have observed life and customs more carefully. Though there were many poets who

¹ Editions by E. Philippson, Halle, 1873 and Otto Klein, Stengel's *Ausg. u. Abh.*, VII, Marburg, 1885. The references are to the latter. Cf. also *Hist. Litt.*, XVII, pp. 565-568 and Diez, *Leben u. Werke*, pp. 270-278.

complained of the paucity of gifts and the selfishness of the lords, few present so many details of daily life, as he. This feature is found particularly in his *enueg*, which are four ¹ in number, or about one-fifth of his extant works.

Of most of the *enueg* it is impossible to give a summary, because of their lack of continuity. Seldom do the poems show careful and intentional segregation; in fact, an absolute lack of systematic arrangement seems to have often been the aim. But I have attempted to divide them into three classes, according to the varieties of vexations, illustrating by examples taken from the four poems of the Monk of Montaudon. (A) The objectionable subjects expressed in general terms: 'evil people,' 'poverty,' 'avarice,' etc. (B) Particular or restricted: 'the hoarse man who tries to sing,' 'the base clerk who preaches,' 'husbands who love their wives too well,' 'many brothers heirs to little land.' (C) Matters pertaining to table etiquette, food, etc.: 'too much water in too little wine,' 'dinner without fire in winter,' 'little meat in a large dish,' 'a long table with a short cloth,' 'meat poorly cooked,' etc.

The first of the Monk's poems consists almost entirely of vexations of class A:

Li lauzengier e l'enujos
 M'enucjon molt e li janglos.
 Et enuejam lonx parlemens,
 Et estar entre crojas gens.
 Et hom m'enuaja trop iros,
 E companhia de garsos,
 E cavaliers mal acuilens.²

In the other three songs there is no attempt to segregate the qualities. The following strophe will illustrate:

¹ Edition of Klein, o. c., Nos. 6, 7, 8 b, and 9.

² Ed. Klein, No. 6, str. 3.

Enojam longa tempradura
 E carns quant es mal cota e dura,
 E prestre qui men nis perjura,
 E puta veilla, quan trop dura.
 E enojam, per Saint Dalmatz,
 D'avol hom en trop gran solatz,
 E corre quan per via a glatz
 E fugir ab caval armatz
 M'enoja, e maldir de datz.¹

It should be noted that all four of these poems are octosyllabic (masc. or fem.), and that all are distinguished by the simplicity of their rhyme scheme. There are never more than two rhymes to the strophe. The first song (No. 6) is unlike the others, in that the last strophe contains, instead of a list of annoyances, an enumeration of pleasant things, such as 'a rich man who is bountiful,' 'a man ashamed of his sin,' 'courts where worthy men are seen.'

Besides the *enuieg*, we find in Provençal a sort of *pendant* called *plazer*.² It is very similar in form, but repeats 'it pleases me' instead of 'it vexes me.' This form of composition found less favor than the *enuieg*, if one may judge from the number of examples preserved. Occasionally, it is combined with the *enuieg*, as in the song just mentioned. Except that the incidents cited are pleasures instead of troubles, there is little difference between the two either in substance or in metrical structure, as the following lines will show:

E platz me hom que gen me sona,
 E qui de bo talan me dona,
 E ricx hom quan no mi tensona;
 Em platz quim ditz be nim razona,
 E dormir quan venta ni trona,
 E gras salmos az ora nona.³

¹ O. c., No. 9, str. 4.

² Cf. *Leys d'Amors*, l. c., I, p. 348.

³ O. c., No. 8 a, vv. 7-12.

Since in style no less than in metrical structure the *enuieg* and the *plazer* are so closely related as to form practically but one *genre*, the poems of both classes are discussed in this article.

In general, the authors of the *enuieg* were men of a rather unusual type, quite different from the conventional singers of love. This fact may in part explain why only a few *enuieg* are to be found in what now remains of the literature of Provence. There is one good specimen, though quite short, in the fragments of Guillen Peire de Casals or de Cahors,¹ one of the little known poets. It consists of only six lines, three of which begin with *nim platz*, so that it is, so to speak, a negative *plazer*:

Nim platz domna si gent non acuellis,
 Nim platz donzels si de gaug non servis,
 Ni donzela si non a bel respos;
 Nim platz escars manens,
 Ni joglars desplazens

One of the songs of Peire Cardenal is sufficiently similar to deserve mention here, although it lacks the repetition of the word *enuieg* or any like word, which was so important a feature in the poems of the Monk of Montaudon. It consists largely of enumerations, with nearly every line introduced by *e*. The theme is blame of avarice, and in the *envoi* the poet concludes:

Mos chantars es enueg als enoios
 Et als plazens plazers; cui platz razos,
 Tug li dig son enoios e plazen;
 So qu'als us platz als autres es salvatge.²

A song which satisfies all the conditions of the definition

¹ Raynouard, *Choix*, v, p. 204.

² Raynouard, *Choix*, iv, p. 342.

is the much discussed poem, *Bem platz lo gais temps de pascor*,¹ now generally conceded to Bertran de Born. From the first line it shows itself to be a *plazer*, by the frequent use of 'it pleases me' and by the series of detached phrases, which in this case are martial in nature. The repeated word is not carried beyond the third strophe, but otherwise the style remains the same throughout the poem.

E platz mi, quan li corredor
 Fan las gens e l'aiver fugir,
 E platz mi, quan vei apres lor
 Gran re d'armatz ensems venir,
 E platz mi en mon coratge,
 Quan vei fortz chastels assetjatz
 Els barris rotz et esfondratz. . . .²

Several other poems by Bertran show more or less similarity, and an examination of them may serve to indicate different stages in the development of that type of *enueg* or *plazer* already seen in the works of the Monk of Montaudon. One of the prominent characteristics of much of Bertran's poetry is the tendency to present a coördinate series of objects or qualities which are often quite unrelated. This is seen particularly in songs Nos. 1, 3, 5, 8, 9, 14, 25, 26, 28, and 29. Thus:

E que samit e ciselato
 E cendat noi sian romput,
 Cordas, tendas, bechas, paisso
 E trap e pavilho tendut.³

¹ Cf. Bertran de Born, ed. Stimming, Halle, 1879 and 1892, (*Rom. Bibl.*, Vol. VIII). The references are to the latter edition.

² No. 42, p. 136. The *envoi* to Beatrix was thought to exclude Bertran as the author, but this stanza is now considered by some to have originally had no connection with this song. The style strongly resembles that of Bertran. Cf. Clédât, *Du rôle hist. de B de Born*, pp. 89 and 120.

³ No. 1, str. 6.

E de joven eratz vos guitz e paire,
 Et ausbere e bran
 E bel bocharan,
 Elm e gonfano
 E perponh e pan
 E jois et amors
 Non an quils mantenha.¹

Si tuit li dol elh plor elh marrimen
 E las dolors elh dan elh chaitivier, etc.²

In some instances these series are combined with the expression of praise or blame as in songs 25, 28, and 41. For example:

Bela m'es pressa de blezos,
 Cobertz de teintz vermelhs e blaus,
 D'entresenhs e de gonfanos
 De diversas colors tretaues,
 Tendras e traps e rics pavilhos tendre,
 Lanzas frassar, escutz traucar, e fendre
 Elmes brunitz, e colps donar e prendre.³

Rassa, rics hom que re no dona
 Ni acuolh ni met ni no sona
 E que senes tort ochaisona
 E, qui mercelh quier, no perdona
 M'enoia, e tota persona
 Que servizi no guizerdona;
 E li ric home chassador
 M'enoian elh buzacador
 Gaban de volada d'austor,
 Ni ja mais d'armas ni d'amor
 No parlaran mot entre lor.⁴

Mout mi platz quan vei dolenta
 La malvada gen manenta,
 Qu'ab paratge muou contenta,
 Em platz quan los vei desfar
 De jorn en jorn, vint o trenta,

¹No. 8, str. 2.

³No. 25, str. 3.

²No. 9, str. 1.

⁴No. 28, str. 4.

Els trop nutz, ses vestimenta,
 E van lor pa achaptar,
 E s'ieu men, m'amiam menta.¹

In these examples a more advanced state appears, the phrases 'it pleases me' or 'it vexes me' being added to the enumerations. So the poems from which these stanzas are taken might naturally come under our definition, were it not for the fact that these characteristics occur only in certain strophes, and not throughout. They serve, however, to illustrate a progress from the mere series of disconnected phrases which may be regarded as the first step.

Further advance is seen in the song *Bel m' es, quan vei chamjar lo senhoratge*, in which Bertran enumerates in one stanza the qualities by which he judges a woman to be old, and in the following stanza the criteria of youth. The succeeding stanzas treat in the same way the characteristics of young and old men. The alternate strophes begin with 'old' or 'young.'

Per vielha tenh domna, puous qu'a pel latge
 Et es vielha, quan chavalier non a,
 Vielha la tenh, si de dos drutz s'apatge
 Et es vielha, si avols hom lolh fa.

Joves es domna que sap honrar paratge
 Et es joves per bos fachs, quan los fa,
 Joves si te, quan a adrech coratge
 E ves bo pretz avol mestier non a.²

If the expressions *me platz* and *m'enoia* be substituted for *joves* and *vielha* respectively, we have a combination of *enueg* and *plazer* regular in arrangement.

The fourth stage of development is found in song No.

¹ No. 41, str. 1.

² No. 40, p. 134.

42, *Bem platz lo gais temps de pascor*, in which *platz* is repeated at regular intervals in the first three stanzas. Yet this example can scarcely be considered perfect, since the keyword is not found in the latter part of the poem, although the general style remains the same.

We have thus seen that in the works of Bertran de Born the different characteristics of the *enuég* are frequently found, although as yet not often combined. It should be further noted that in general the development in form corresponds with the date of composition of the poem, so far as that has been determined. In this way the different stages in the combination of these elements show the gradual evolution of the perfected type of this *genre*, such as it appears in the works of the Monk of Montaudon and his Italian followers. The poems of the war poet and those of the wandering prior do not differ greatly either in the period of composition or in formal structure; yet an interesting link, which may serve to show direct relation, is the fact that the musical notation for the Monk's *Fort m'enoia, s'o auzes dire* was the same as that for Bertran's *Rassa tan creis e monta e poia*.¹ While the latter is not a perfect *enuég*, it has enumerations and a play upon *enoia, noia*. This musical connection has been pointed out by Dr. Jean Beck, in his recent work *La Musique des Troubadours*.² However, he has not yet attempted to show that a borrowing of the musical score has any relation to the influence of one poet upon another.

The influence of these Provençal poems was later felt in the sister language of Catalonia, as is shown by a collection of short poems by Jordi de San Jordi. This poet lived in the fifteenth century, according to the testimony

¹No. 28.

²Paris, sans date, p. 90.

recorded by the famous Marquis of Santillana in his *Prohemio*.¹ His poem, called *Los Enuigs*,² consists of nine strophes of nineteen verses each. Many of the verses are of only four syllables, and this feature, as well as the great length of the stanzas, indicates quite a departure in form from the Provençal examples which have just been considered. Bartsch pointed out³ that this Catalan poem was inspired by the works of the Monk of Montaudon; but a careful comparison of the texts fails to reveal any instance of direct imitation or borrowing. Jordi is often quite realistic, when he relates vexations which savor strongly of the personal, such as: 'being forced to lie between two people in a narrow bed,' 'a broad shadeless road in summer,' 'mosquitoes at night when one wishes to sleep,' etc. The word *enuig* is employed in the first line of each strophe, and is also repeated at irregular intervals within the stanza:

Un altre enuig sovint me ve
 Quant en algun loch parlaré,
 Qui m'enterromp quant mils volré
 Dir ma rahó.
 Altre quant un bon mot diré
 En part hon no s'enten perquè,
 D'on rest felló;
 E far creure ma intenció
 A cor grosser que en tot diu "no."
 D'enemich de conclusió
 Pas gran enuig

¹ En estos nuestros tiempos floresció Mossen Jordé de Sanct Jordé, cavallero prudente, el qual ciertamente compuso assaz fermosas cosas, las quales él mesmo asonava. *El Prohemio*, XIII, p. 11. *Obres* pub. por Amador de los Rios, Madrid, 1852.

² *Obres Poetiques de Jordi de Sant Jordi*, Massó Torrents, Barcelona, 1902. Published also from MS. in *Ateneo* by Sanvisenti in his *I primi influssi*, etc., Milan, 1902, pp. 453 ff. Cf. also *Jahrb.* II, p. 288.

³ *Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. litt.*, II, p. 288.

E molt me fuig.
 Autre enuig trob
 Que m'enuig trop
 Com algú trob
 Que no m'asaut,
 Que en mon default
 Comport son aut
 De que mon cor pren gran assaut.¹

In structure of stanza and originality of incident this Catalan version marks a progress in the development of this type of composition. Besides this long poem Jordi has left a *cobla sparça* which calls to mind the negative *plazer* by Guillen Peire de Casals, itself a fragment. There is, however, no evidence of influence.

No m'agrat d'hom que en tots affers no sia
 Leyals e purs com la fina romana,
 Ne m'agrat d'hom que sinch jorns la semana
 Mont en sos dits e vol ab druts paria,
 Ne m'agrat d'hom que-m leu ploma ne palla
 De mon vestit, nes jacte de batalla,
 Ne m'agrat d'hom qui no hage vergonya
 Car de tot past fa gorga, com segonya.²

These are the only examples in Catalan, as far as I have been able to ascertain, nor have I discovered any similar forms in Spanish. In Portuguese, however, there are several poems more or less of this type, as Prof. H. R. Lang has kindly pointed out to me. The one which most closely resembles the *enuieg* is called *arreneguo*, i. e., a 'denial.' Such is the poem found in the *Cancioneiro de Resende*,³ where it is ascribed to *Grygorio Alfonso criado do bispo d'Evora*. It consists of 341 verses, of which the

¹ O. c., p. 48, str. III.

² O. c., p. 45, No. XVII.

³ Garcia de Resende, *Cancioneiro geral*, Stutt. Lit. Verein, vols. xv, xvii, and xxvi.

alternate lines begin with *arreneguo* or *rreneguo*. From the first verse the poet gives vent to his dislike for various people and customs, all arranged without regard for sequence. Thus:

Arreneguo de ty Mafoma,
 Et de quantos creem em ty.
 Arreneguo de quem toma
 Ho alheo pera ssy.
 Rreneguo de quantos vy
 De quem foram esquecidos.
 Arreneguo dos perdidos
 Por cousas nom muy onestas.
 Rreneguo tanbem das festas
 Que trazem pouco proveyto.¹

Another poem is known as the *porques*.² It is a series of personal sarcasms in the form of questions, each of which is introduced by *porque*. Although there is no direct censure on the part of the poet, the series of sarcastic questions emphasized by the repetition produces the effect of vexation. Both of these types, especially the *arreneguo*, are sufficiently similar in form and sentiment to the Provençal prototypes to justify their mention as instances of the cultivation of this *genre* by the poets of Portugal. At the same time they present unusual and interesting variations.³

In order to follow the more consistent and complete development of the *enueg*, it is necessary to turn to the literature of Italy, where this kind of poem received an

¹ O. c., Vol. xvii, p. 534.

² O. c., Vol. xxvi, pp. 238 ff.

³ Another Portuguese poem which shows slight similarity is that called *nunca vi* (*Cancioneiro de Resende*, o. c., Vol. xv, pp. 394 ff.). It is simply a series of pessimistic aphorisms introduced by *nunca vi* and is far from being a true specimen of the *enueg*.

early start and finally attained its most perfect maturity. The *enueg* or *noie*, as it is known in its Italian form, appeared in Italy in the first part of the thirteenth century, not long after the time of the Monk of Montaudon. The Chronicle of Fra Salimbene of Parma (1221-1288), a good source for knowledge of the culture of that century, quotes several parts of an Italian *enueg* ascribed to a certain 'Girardum Patecelum.' Speaking of his uncle, Salimbene says he was a pleasure-loving man, fond of wine, and a great player on musical instruments, though not a *joculator*; and living in Cremona, he deceived *magistrum Girardum Patecelum qui fecit librum de Tediis*.¹ This is confirmed by the name of Gerardo Pateclo de Cremona signed as a witness to a treaty which renewed an alliance between Cremona and Parma. It bears the date of July 9, 1228.² Then, continues Salimbene,³ I was living in Burgo St. Donini and I was writing *alium librum Tediorum ad similitudinem Pateceli*. This work of Salimbene has been lost, nor do we know whether it was written in Latin or in Romance. Gherardo Patecchio or Girard Pateg, as he is more frequently called, also wrote *Lo Splanamento de' Proverbi de Salamone*, a monotonous sermon in rather roughly constructed verse. Although the fame of Pateg, during his life time and in the years immediately following, was so great that Salimbene quoted him, and imitated him, as we have seen, and though the long poem of Antonio Pucci is called *Le Noie de Patecchio*, still both his *noie* and his proverbs disappeared completely. At last the latter were discovered in the library of the Duke of Hamilton, and were

¹ *Monumenta Germaniae Hist.; Scriptores*, Vol. 32, I, p. 54, 30.

² *Giornale Storico*, XXI, p. 455.

³ *Monumenta Germaniae Hist.; Scriptores*, Vol. 32, II, p. 464, 35.

published by Tobler.¹ However, no trace of the *noie* appeared until Professor Novati discovered them in a great *zibaldone* of Bartolomeo Sachelli recently acquired by the Brera Library. This book consists of a mass of Latin and Romance compositions, the latter for the most part in the dialect of Lombardy.² Although the name of Pateg does not accompany these poems, their authenticity is sufficiently proved by the fact that all the numerous quotations made by Fra Salimbene in his Chronicle may be found in them. The text has been much corrupted by various copyists, and probably not the least so by the compiler himself. Novati has not attempted a critical edition, but prints the three *noie* as they stand in the manuscript, and adds in the notes a few suggestions concerning the improvement of the text. The title given by the compiler Sachelli is *Frotula noie moralis*. According to Novati,³ the term *frotula* is applied by Sachelli to any lyrical composition in the vulgar tongue.

Of the three *noie* as printed, the first and third have eight strophes of ten lines each and a *tornada* of six lines. The second lacks the last stanza and the *tornada*. The interesting point is that the corresponding strophes of the three poems have the same rhymes arranged in the same order. The few exceptions such as I, 1, 7 or II, 1, 7 and 10 where *-ia* occurs for *-aza*, are doubtless due to the unsatisfactory condition of the manuscript. However, not only do they have the same rhymes, but the same introductory repeated phrase (some form of the word *noia*) is

¹ *Abhandl. der K. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaft.*, Berlin, 1886.

² For the description of the *zibaldone* I am indebted to Novati, *Rendiconti del real. Ist. Lomb.*, Serie II, Vol. XXIX, pp. 279 ff. and 500 ff.

³ *O. c.*, p. 501.

found in the corresponding strophes of all three poems; yet this phrase is slightly varied in each successive strophe of the same poem (*noioso, ben mi noya, grande noia*, etc.). This shows an artistic advance over the Provençal *enueg*, and indicates the influence of the elaborate metrical structure of the later writers of Provence. That these three poems were intended for companion pieces there can be little doubt; and it is partly for this reason that Novati does not print with the text proper four extra strophes; since, as he says, they would thus mar the symmetrical arrangement. They are, besides, more vulgar in tone, and may easily have been appended by some copyist anxious to show versatility. There is also in the same collection a short *plazer* which Novati hesitates to place with the *noie*, although it is similar in form and language. The reading is even more corrupt than was the case with the others, so that it is difficult to judge of the rhymes. Since the Monk of Montaudon was (at least indirectly) the source of inspiration of the *noie*, it may have been through his influence that the *plazer* was written, but whether by Girard Pateg or another still remains uncertain.

The first *noie*¹ begins in a characteristic style, which leaves no doubt as to the kind of poem:

Noioso sun et canto di noio,
Che mi fa la ria gente noiosa.

After a list of various classes of people who vex him, *i. e.*, class A, the poet turns to personal memories, in such phrases as 'to have to go to a distant inn to dine,' 'to have candles which shed no light,' 'to lose good wine because

¹ *L. c.*, p. 502.

of a poor pitcher.' The first of these poems is dedicated in the *envoi* to Ugo di Perso:

Canzoneta, vatin senza noia
Ad Ugo di Perso, chi è di buona voglia:
Digli sí noia gli è rimansa la ricoglia,
Qual ne sa più che non è herba nen foglia.

Nothing is known of this person, but it is supposed that he wrote the third of these *noie* as a reply; for the *envoi* indicates that it was sent to Gherardo.

Cancioneta senza buxia
Ad Gerardo pratico per la via,
In cui è tutta noya et gioya,
Si ch' altro huom a lui non s' apoya;
Non me curo di compagna croya
Nela mia caxa ch' io non la voglia.¹

It has even been thought that Ugo sent the second also; but as the last stanza has been lost, there is no way to prove the assumption. The three are all so similar, in both form and content, that they might easily have been written by one man. If the second and third were composed as replies to the first, they follow it so closely in form and spirit that the entire credit for originality and inspiration should be given to Pateg alone. Salimbene² quotes from all three as if they were the work of Pateg; and so we may conclude that within fifty years after they were written it was the general belief that Pateg was their author. The second and third are filled with interesting troubles such as 'a little fire in a large hearth,' 'dogs that do not cease to bark,' 'long gowns that trail in the dust,' 'large families in small houses,' 'fat meat and cold pep-

¹ *L. c.*, p. 512.

² *O. c.*, Vol. 32, p. 98, 20 ff., quotations from poems 1 and 2; Vol. 32, p. 169, 29, quotations from poem 3.

pers,' 'keys that do not fit locks.' In many cases there is a human note which makes these disconnected phrases vivid and forceful; for the trials and vexations of the thirteenth century resemble strongly those of to-day. The third poem, the one ascribed to Ugo di Perso, offers nothing distinctive from the others. The first five lines:

Noioso, da vui non mi toglio;
Vostra rima non tenrazo aschuosa,
Anzi la ve rendo, io me ne spoglio,
Chè la gente è fata sì corchosa,
Che per formento si vende l'orzo. . .

as well as the *tornada* already quoted, show that it was intended as a reply. None of the annoyances mentioned are the same as those of the other poems.

That Pateg was indebted to Provençal influence there is little doubt, at least as far as the general subject and the formal structure of his poems are concerned. The slight similarity in expressions may be due simply to the kindred idea; for there is little evidence of direct borrowing. Pateg was a notary who devoted some of his time to verse; but unlike the famous notary of Lentini, he shows little of the true poetic genius in either of his known works, although in the *noie* he made an attempt at artistic structure. To students of the early Italian language his works, even in their much mutilated condition, offer a great boon. In the study of the historical development of an unusual type of poetic composition his *noie* supply an important link which connects the simple beginnings of the Provençal *enuég* with their artistic descendants in the later Italian writers.

The next appearance of the *noie* is in the poems of Guittone d'Arezzo.¹ To him belongs the credit of com-

¹ Guittone d'Arezzo, *Rime*, ed. Pellegrini, Bologna, 1901. Cf. also edition of Valeriani, Firenze, 1828.

binning a satirical or jocose medley with sonnets in honor of his lady. In this attempt he was not altogether successful and had few imitators. Sometimes, however, he enters quite into the spirit, and only the repetition of the key word is lacking to prevent these songs from being full-fledged *noie*. Such are the sonnets *Ai come m'è crudel forte e noiosa*,¹ *Ai! con mi dol vedere omo valente*,² *Ah! che grave dannaggio e che noioso*.³ In all these the disjointed effect is retained by the frequent use of the conjunction *e*. Although they are not as perfect in type as some of the examples thus far considered, they show a further step in the process of development, an adaptation to the lyric. The following example will illustrate:

Ai! con mi dol vedere omo valente
 Star misagiato e povero d'avere;
 E lo malvagio e vile esser manente,
 Regnare a benenanza e a piacere;
 E donna pro' cortese e canoscente
 Ch' è laida, sì che vive in dispiacere;
 E quella ch' à bieltà dolce e piacente
 Villana e orgogliosa for savere.
 Ma lo dolor di voi, donna, m'amorta
 Che bella e fella assai più ch' altra sete,
 E più di voi mi ten prode e dannaggio.
 O che mal aggia il die che voi fu porta
 Sì gran bieltà, ch' autrui ne confondete,
 Tanto è duro e fellon vostro coraggio.⁴

Another sonnet of similar type is *Deo, che mal aggia mia fede, mi' amore*,⁵ in which the poet curses various things, such as his fidelity, his love, and his knowledge. The phrase *mal aggia*, repeated at regular intervals, produces

¹ Ed. Pell., Vol. I, No. XLVII, p. 73.

² O. c., No. v, p. 9.

³ Valer., o. c., Vol. II, No. XII, p. 12.

⁴ Pell., o. c., No. v, p. 9.

⁵ Pell., o. c., Vol. I, No. LIV, p. 82.

a poem quite like the fragment of Guillen Peire de Casals. All the qualities mentioned are abstract qualities. This is quite a common feature in the creations of Guittone, which are really sonnets of love treated in this special fashion. Somewhat further removed, but showing at the same time some of the features, is the sonnet *E vòl essere l'om sofrente bene*.¹ Here we find a list of the qualities that a man should possess in order to be successful in love:

E gran promettitor star li convene,
E far che l'om bon cielador lo tegna
E largo ver la donna ov' è sua spene
E 'n arme avanzator de la sua enseña.

In such an example one can see how the poets often made lists of qualities or characteristics, virtues or vices. Naturally it was but a short step forward to the segregation of joys or vexations, and the repetition of a phrase which was calculated to impress the hearer with the pleasure or pain that the author wished to emphasize. In one of his *canzoni* ² there is a suggestion of the *noie* in the first three strophes, but after that the similarity ceases.

Gente noiosa e villana
E malvagia e vil signoria
E giudici pien di falsia
E guerra perigliosa e strana
Fanno me, lasso, la mia terra odiare
E l'altrui forte amare.

There are also two plazers: *Tanto sovente dett' aggio altra fiata*,³ and *Ahi! che bon m' è vederè ben piacente*.⁴

¹ Pell., o. c., Vol. I, No. CIX, p. 180.

² Pell., o. c., Vol. I, No. XV, p. 286.

³ Valer., o. c., Vol. I, No. X, p. 56.

⁴ Valer., o. c., Vol. II, No. CXVIII, p. 119.

The latter is perfect as regards the theme and the enumeration, but the repetition consists merely of the word *e*. This, we have seen, was a characteristic of Guittone's three *noie* also.

Much more successful was the group or chain of ten sonnets by a contemporary of Guittone, Chiaro Davanzati.¹ All of them are *plazer* and they are all distinguished by the use of *mi piace* in the first and ninth verses of each poem. Each is written in praise of certain excellent qualities appropriate to the particular type of person treated in that especial poem. Thus the first refers to a youth, the second to a knight, the third to old men, the fourth to merchants and artisans, the fifth to a servant and his master, the sixth to maidens, the seventh to widows, the eighth to a father, the ninth to a child, and the last to a monk. The list of qualities is exceedingly well chosen and the moral (if not didactic) tenor is quite apparent, as the following quotations will illustrate. The first sonnet quoted relates the qualities which the author finds pleasing in a widow, while the other refers to those which befit the clergy.

Ancor mi piacìe a Vedova pensare
Come suoi figli possa mantenere
Im be' costumi, e del mal gastigare
E che mantengna ben lo lor podere.
E che nom pensi mai di maritare,
Ma solamente lor pe' sposo avere.

¹ All except the first were published by D'Ancona in *Il Propugnatore*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, part 1, pp. 359-367. Bilancioni pointed out that the other *Molt' ò diletto e piaciemi vedere* should have been included, as D'Ancona admits in *Il Propug.*, VII, 1^o, p. 60. The entire chain of ten was later published by D'Ancona and Comparetti in their edition of the *codex vaticano 3793 (Le Antiche Rime Volgari)*, Bologna, 1886, Vol. IV. The first and second sonnets of the ring are found on pp. 267, 268 of this edition; the others on pp. 275-283.

Lor giovanute sappia comportare,
 Per sè medesma castità volere.
 E piaciemi figliol che riverisca
 Cotal madre, e diletti lo suo onore,
 E li comandamenti suoi ubidisca;
 Che s'impronti d'avere lo suo amore
 E di servirli giamai no rincesca,
 Ma le rafini sempre servidore.¹

E piaciemi veder Rilegioso
 Casto ed amanito di ben fare,
 E che nom sia legiadro e vizioso,
 E de la morte sempre ricordare.
 E sia d'amare Dio disideroso,
 E star gichitamente sovr' altare,
 E paia intra la giente vergongnoso,
 E umilmente porga suo parlare.
 E piaciemi quand' è a confessione
 Che non guardi nel viso chi gli è avanti,
 E che diletti giostizia e raggione:
 E che nom faccia vista nè sembianti
 Che lo ne riprendessor le persone,
 E suoi peccati sian nel cor suo pianti.²

The grace and charm of these verses, as well as the excellent choice of qualities, show that another artistic advance has been made, and that now the sonnet is proved to be a suitable form for the *plazer* at least, if not for the *enueg*. This entire chain by Davanzati has, as far as I know, no prototype; but it testifies to the artistic possibilities of the *genre* in the hands of a true lyric poet.

Among the poems of Bindo Bonichi, a Siennese poet (1260-1337), the sonnet *Fra l'altre cose non lievi a portare*³ possesses all the usual characteristics, except the repetition of the word *noia*. In this sonnet the boasters

¹ *Antiche Rime*, Vol. IV, p. 280.

² *O. c.*, p. 283.

³ *Scelta di Curiosità*, Vol. LXXXII, p. 173. Cf. *Jahrbuch f. rom. u. eng. Litt.*, VI, p. 225.

and the arrogant are the special objects of the poet's vexation, which is expressed quite sententiously, as may be seen in the following:

E l'uom, che di fiorini è mal guernito,
Far del superbo, e voler grandeggiare;

E femmina, che ha 'l quarto marito,
Di castità volersi gloriare.

Udire all' ignorante dar sentenza
Sopra la cosa, che non sa che sia.

In *canzone* IX¹ Bonichi presents a different form of this kind of composition. Under the title *Sentenzie nobili sopra varie e diverse cose* he has written a poem of five strophes, each strophe being of sixteen lines. Each has a repeated phrase, which occurs at the beginning of every fourth line, and forms the keynote of that particular strophe. That of the first is *guai a*, the second *grave è*, the third *foll' è*, the fourth, which is a sort of *plazer*, *sagg' è*, and, finally, in the fifth, all four phrases are repeated in the same order as above. Although no form of the word *noia* is found, still the composition comes easily under the definition; for it is a poem which consists of a series of disconnected ideas, and is marked by the frequent use of a phrase expressing a sentiment of dislike or approval. In strophes one, three, and four, various classes of people are mentioned; while in two, it is a question of unpleasant happenings. The following quotations will illustrate:

I. Guai a chi nel tormento
Sua non puo spander voce
Et quando foco il coce
Gli convien d'allegrezza far sembianti.

¹ O. c., pp. 65-68.

II. Grave è potere in pace
 Ingiuria sofferire,
 Da cui dovria venire,
 Per merito servire e onorare

Another sonnet of the same period, *i. e.*, the beginning of the fourteenth century, which should be mentioned in this connection, is that one composed by Cino da Pistoia,¹ the friend of Dante. This is a strange combination of *noie* and *plazer*, the idea of which is seen in the introductory words, 'all that pleases others displeases me.' Thus the author exclaims: 'I should be glad were ships to sink, a second Nero to come, and every fair lady to become ugly.' It is a *plazer* of vexations, so to speak, and in this way differs from all the others thus far considered.

In a vastly more elaborate form the *noie* appear later in the fourteenth century in the works of Antonio Pucci, whom Sacchetti² calls 'that peaceful Florentine, the sayer of many things in rhyme.' Pucci was preëminently a poet of the people, as is clearly shown by the fact that his writings are redolent of the atmosphere of the market place. The son of a bell-founder,³ he became a town crier, which office he held for several years. No doubt he made use of this position to observe the life of the city and the manners, or rather lack of manners, of his associates. With his public duties he combined the recitation of his poems, as is shown by the salutatory phrases in which he commends himself to his audience. He was thus a sort

¹ Cf. D'Ancona e Bacci, *Manuale della Lett. It.*, Firenze, 1906, Vol. I, pp. 396 ff. The poem referred to is found on page 402.

² Sacchetti, *Novelle*, Milan, 1805, Vol. III, p. 63: Novella CLXXV.

³ Ferruccio Ferri, *La poesia popolare in Antonio Pucci*, Bologna, 1909, p. 5.

of Florentine fourteenth-century adaptation of a Provençal *jongleur*. His *répertoire*, however, was not drawn from the artificial, aristocratic life of feudal courts, but from that of the populace of a democratic city, to which he himself belonged. Like the author of the *fabliau* of the *Deux Bordeors Ribaut*¹ Pucci wrote a *zibaldone* or compendium of the stories and legends which a good singer should master, if he wishes to succeed in his profession. This fondness for compiling heterogeneous subjects, such as ancient history, geography, biography, agriculture, and love, was similar to that tendency which led to the composition of the *noie*. In the latter, on the contrary, there is more personal observation than mere appropriation of all available material. Besides this collection, Pucci has left numerous poems: historical, moral, amatory, and didactic. To the historical class belongs the *Centiloquio*,² a long versification of the famous Chronicle of Giovanni Villani, and in the last class, the didactic, are the *noie*. Unfortunately, there is as yet no critical edition of his works, a task made difficult by the number of manuscripts and the doubtful authenticity of certain poems. The edition which I have used is the one by F. Ferri,³ but the principal excellence of this book simply resides in the fact that it renders accessible some of the poems hitherto quite inaccessible. The texts are for the most part reprinted from earlier editions.

Pucci's *noie* is a poem in *terza rima* of over 300 verses, contained in some 15 mss., and first published in 1775 from a Riccardian ms., with the title *Capitolo morale*.⁴

¹ Pub. Faral, *Mimes Fr. du XIIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1910, pp. 81 ff.

² *Delizie degli eruditi toscani*, Firenze, 1772-75, Vols. III-VI.

³ Cited above.

⁴ Ildefonso di San Luigi, in Vol. VI of the *Delizie degli eruditi toscani* (Vol. IV of Pucci's works), pp. 275-285; reprinted without

It is distinguished in form by the fact that, except the first five and the last, containing the introduction and the conclusion, every *terzina* begins with the phrase *a noia m' è*. At the beginning, the poet calls on divine majesty, supreme excellence, and highest wisdom to inspire his weak intellect with some of the blessed light which illumines knowledge. He then declares his purpose, which is to blame coarse habits, although he himself may not be free from the larger number of those mentioned; but without apology for his own faults, he wishes that every one may profit by his work and desist from those vices which to him are *noie*. So here for the first time is the didactic and moral purpose clearly stated, although it no doubt existed in spirit in the poems of the Monk of Montaudon and those of Girard Pateg.

The first ten *terzine* following the introduction deal with the lack of reverence at church. Due blame is given to those who are not reverent during mass, those who sleep when they ought to be awake, those who look at ladies or talk during the prayers. In the next twenty-four *terzine* follow the sins against ordinary manners, such as lack of respect toward a corpse, scorn for a man who is poorly dressed, interruption in conversation, exaggeration, eavesdropping, slander, and infidelity. The next group of twenty-eight *terzine*, or over one-fourth of the entire poem, is devoted to a code, or rather the violations of a code, of table manners, such as refusal to

change in *Raccolta di rime antiche toscane*, Palermo, 1817, Vol. III, pp. 311-320; and by F. Ferri, *o. c.*, pp. 235-242. This text has 101 *terzine*, or 304 verses, but other MSS. have a larger or smaller number. Prof. K. McKenzie expects to publish shortly the text from the Cod. Kirkupiano (recently belonging to Wellesley College, but now in Italy), which has four additional *terzine*; and also the shorter version in Venetian dialect in a MS. of the Bodleian Library.

pay for drinks after having given the invitation, eating without first washing the hands, hasty eating, failure to greet table companions, spitting at table, if it is seen or heard, cracking nuts with the teeth, because it contorts the face, coarse stories during meals, conversation with those who have just eaten acrid herbs, etc. The prominence given to this kind of fault or vexation is rather extraordinary when compared with the other *noie*, and it is noticeable here because of the length of the poem and the careful segregation of these qualities from the others. The poet next takes up the politeness which one owes one's associates, as the man who stops to talk and forgets his own companion, departure without saying farewell, etc. Then the manners of the household are criticized, as inviting guests and then recalling one's invitations, reading what another is writing, stopping on the street to talk and so blocking the way, and living in idleness, while one's wife supports the family. Lastly, a few cases which apparently belong to no special class, as that of the man who has passed forty-eight and still goes laughing and singing through the streets; and the fool who shows joy when others weep. The concluding verses are so typical of Pucci, and give such an intimate impression that I translate them literally. 'He is a vexation to me, who keeps these things silent, or he who adds to them without Antonio Pucci; to your honor be this part completed. Do not change it, if you do not wish to anger me. Amen. *Finis. Deo gratias.*'

With a religious invocation begins and ends the most elaborate and the most interesting of the *enuég*. This masterpiece of its kind is not composed of disconnected sentences arranged by chance, but consists of a series of well-chosen observations grouped in special classes accord-

ing as they refer to religion, politeness, social relations, or table manners. In the subdivisions, the author has selected from personal experience certain common faults which, as they are portrayed, have little or no similarity to those in the other *enueg*. They do afford, however, vivid glimpses of the life of the middle class in Florence in the fourteenth century, and yet in many cases they are sufficiently universal to be essentially modern as well. In the general continuity of arrangement, the lack of which was a prominent characteristic of the early poems of this class, Pucci has added a feature, which is perhaps necessary in a longer poem. By the limiting of each thought to a single *terzina*, and by the repetition of the same phrase (*a noia m' è*) at the beginning of nearly all, he has, however, completely retained the disjointed effect of the early *enueg*. So, from the first Italian *noie* of Pateg to the culmination in Pucci, we see that this *genre* has in Italy a development far more complex and varied than elsewhere.

In the works of Francesco Berni¹ (1497-1535), the poet famous for his rehabilitation of Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, which he tried to improve in language and style at the expense of simplicity, are many poems treating various subjects with unusual freedom. In several of these pieces the tendency to enumerate appears strongly, as in sonnets 1, 5, 9, 11, and 12. Sonnet 8 (*Cancheri e beccafichi magri arrosto*) consists almost entirely of a list of personal dislikes, such as 'to be at a party and not to see,' 'to sweat in January as in August,' 'to be near to the fire but far from the wine.' In the coda the poet concludes:

¹ *Opere*, Milano, 1864, *Bibl. Rara*, Vol. 44.

Chi più n' ha, più ne metta,
 E conti tutti i dispetti e le doglie,
 Chè la maggior di tutte è l'aver moglie.¹

This is just as much a *noia* as the sonnets of Guittone d'Arezzo and Bonichi, except that in this case the conjunction *e* is not repeated quite so frequently. Several of the lines contain contrasts, such as

E sudar di gennaio come d'agosto . . .
 Una mano imbrattata e una netta,
 Una gamba calzata ed una scalza.

This sonnet by Berni is nothing more than a special form of his general style, which abounds in enumerations. It does not show an attempt to follow any of the *noie* as models.

I have mentioned this poem in order to show the prevalence of a similar type of composition, from which it is often difficult to distinguish the *noie* proper. Examples of this type are the sonnet by Burchiello *O teste buse, o mercatanti sciocchi*,² in which the author bursts forth into invective against persons distasteful to him, and the sonnet *Figliuol mio sie' leale e costumato*,³ in which he names the qualities that a good son should possess. Burchiello is extremely fond of long enumerations, particularly in the sonnets against women. Another instance of a similar form is the sonnet *Benedetto sia cinque, quattro e tre*⁴ by Antonio Alamanni. Each *terzina* begins with *benedetto*, which corresponds to *mi piace*. Thus, manifesta-

¹ *O. c.*, p. 162.

² *Sonetti del Burchiello, del Bellincioni e d'altri poeti fior.*, London, 1757, p. 143.

³ *O. c.*, p. 194.

⁴ Published on page ix of Alamanni's sonnets in the edition cited in note 2.

tions of these characteristics are fairly common in Italian literature of this period, although examples which correspond closely to the *noie* are not numerous. We shall not trace further the career of the *enuæg* in Italy, where it reached its zenith in the *Capitolo* of Pucci.

An examination of French literature as distinguished from Provençal fails to reveal any perfect specimen of the *enuæg*. There are, however, a few instances of similar forms which will be cited for the sake of completeness. The first is the Old French *fabliau* called *L'escommenizement au lecheor*.¹ It is marked by the frequent iteration of the phrase *j'escommeni*, which corresponds in a certain way to *m' è noia*, since the author applies it to classes or individuals who seem disagreeable to him. The repetition of the phrase, together with the lack of connection between the verses, produces an effect similar to that of the *enuæg*. The attitude of the entire poem is burlesque rather than satirical. I mention this case not because of any direct connection that it has with the class of poetry under discussion, but merely to show that poems possessing certain traits of the *enuæg* are found in the literature of Northern France.

A satire of somewhat closer resemblance is found in Scarron's *Épître Chagrine*,² in which the poet expresses his dislike for various classes of people whom he calls *fâcheux*. This part of the poem where the word *fâcheux* is repeated at frequent but irregular intervals shows a striking similarity to the *enuæg*, although the disjointed structure is not so noticeable.

¹ The entire text is printed by Thomas Wright, *Anecdota Literaria*, London, 1844. A fragment of it is found in *Hist. Litt.*, Vol. xxiii, p. 98. A much modified analysis is given by Le Grand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux*, Paris, 1829, III, p. 374.

² *Œuvres*, Paris, 1786, Vol. vii, pp. 165 ff.

Tel est fâcheux, et fâcheux diablement,
Qui de fâcheux se plaint incessamment.

Qu'il est fâcheux le fat, quand il conseille!
Qu'ils sont fâcheux les parleurs à l'oreille,
Et qui pourraient sans péril dire à tous
Ce grand secret qu'ils ne disent qu'à vous!
Qu'on est fâcheux aux bonnes compagnies,
De ne parler que de ses maladies!
Qu'il est fâcheux aux malades d'ouïr!¹

About 200 of the 360 verses of the entire poem are devoted to the *fâcheux*; therefore on account of the length and distinct characteristics of this part, the composition deserved to be mentioned in any study of the *enueg*, although when considered as a whole the piece is really a satire.²

From the poems of the Monk of Montaudon in the twelfth century to this hybrid form by Scarron, the individuality of the *enueg* has always consisted in its disconnected structure, which distinguishes it from a satire, to which in other respects it often bears a resemblance. In form it has the peculiarity of repeating a word or phrase which indicates the attitude of the poet. Beyond

¹ O. c., pp. 168 and 172.

² There is a curious instance of the survival of the same general type of poem in a single strophe of the early 17th century. It is found in *La Comédie des Proverbes* (*Ancien Théâtre Fr.*, tome IX, pp. 50 f.) where it is pronounced before a meal somewhat like a blessing.

De quatre choses Dieu nous garde:
D'une femme qui se farde,
D'un valet qui se regarde,
De bœuf salé sans moustarde,
Et de petit disner qui trop tarde.

Although no word like *fâcheux* is repeated, yet a marked similarity in general style can not fail to be apparent. This has already been noticed by E. Lommatzsch in his recently published dissertation, *System der Gebärden dargestellt auf Grund der mittelalt. Lit.*, Berlin, 1911, p. 76.

this, it possesses nothing distinctive. It may be octosyllabic, as in the early examples in Provençal, or *terza rima*, as in Pucci's *Capitolo*, a sonnet, as in Cino da Pistoia and Guittone d'Arezzo, or a *canzone*, as in Bonichi. An important characteristic is the insight afforded into the life of the people, their customs and their manners. This is effected by a series of well chosen traits, which give vivid glimpses of the habits of the various classes, as they are held up for praise or censure. It is this feature which separates these compositions from the political *sirventés*, and renders them interesting and profitable in a study of society, as well as in the history of mediæval poetry.

It is difficult to discover any considerable influence of these poems upon one another, although it is probable that the Monk of Montaudon knew the poetry of Bertran de Born,¹ and that Pateg in turn was acquainted with the poems of the Monk.² We know also that Salimbene³ was familiar with the works of Pateg, which probably did not pass into their temporary oblivion for many years, since the name of Patecchio appears in the title of Pucci's *Capitolo*. However, there is little evidence of direct borrowing except in the general style of the composition. Each author contributed from his own experiences the incidents which appealed to him, so that in each case there is an individuality which places nearly every poem in a class by itself; yet they all have in common the features of that *genre* to which the title *enueg* has been given.

The purpose of this paper has been to define and analyze this form of poetry, and to trace its development in the

¹ Jean Beck, *La Musique des Troubadours*, p. 90.

² Cf. Novati in *Rendiconti del real. Ist. Lombardo*, Ser. II, Vol. 29, p. 284.

³ *Monumenta Germaniae Hist.; Scriptores*, Vol. 32, I, p. 54, 30 ff.

several Romance literatures. Beyond a few references in the editions of the Monk of Montaudon by Philipppson and Klein and the article by Karl Bartsch¹ no attempt has been made, as far as I know, to collect or study this *genre* of poetry. No claim is here made that all the instances of this and similar forms have been collected. It has, however, been the aim to describe and illustrate a variety of poem which is so peculiarly mediæval, and to show that it is a definite expression of an attitude toward life, which is commonly manifested in the literature of the Middle Ages.

RAYMOND THOMPSON HILL.

¹ *Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Litt.*, II, p. 288.